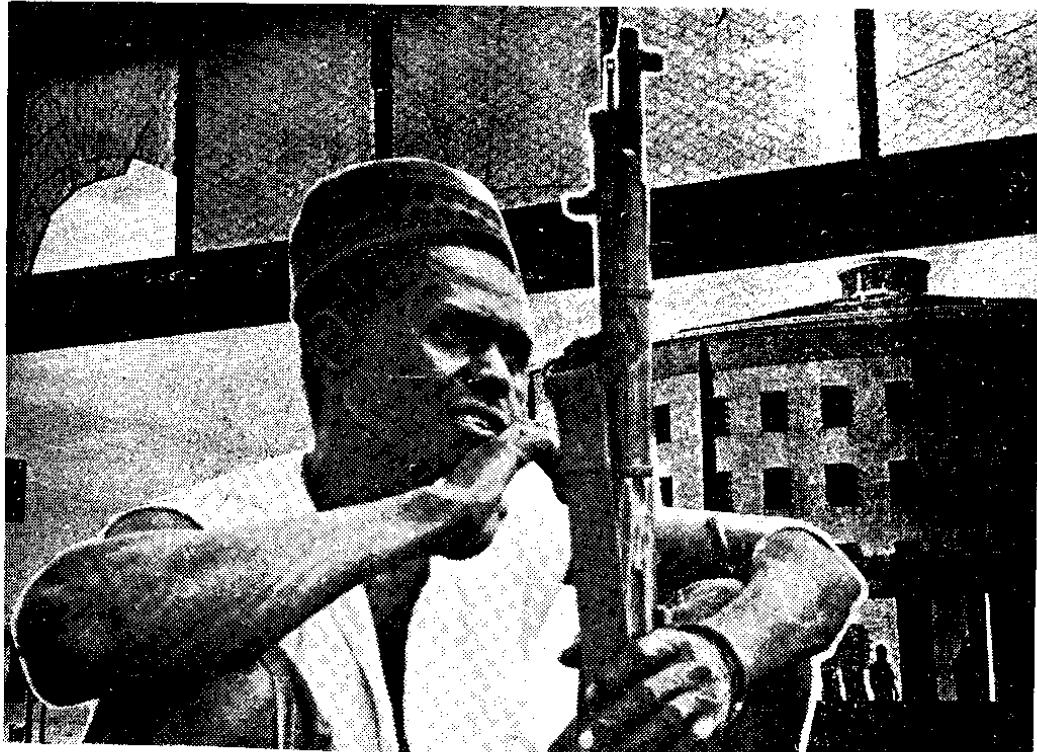


Notes from a New Afrikan P.O.W. Journal

book 5



Notes From a New Afrikan P.O.W. Journal — Book Five

COMBAT GENOCIDE — COMBAT COLONIAL VIOLENCE

HEIGHTEN THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION!

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Abbreviations Used:

WCG: *We Charge Genocide*, William Patterson, International Publishers

BIME: *Blood In My Eye*, George Jackson, Bantam Books

WE: *Wretched Of The Earth*, Frantz Fanon, Grove Press

RIG: *Revolution In Guinea*, Amilcar Cabral, Monthly Review Press

WITBD: *What Is to Be Done?*, V. I. Lenin, Selected Works, Volume 1, International Publishers

Introduction

We Still Charge Genocide was written in September, 1977, and originally appeared in *Notes From A New Afrikan P.O.W. Journal, Book Two*. It appears here, slightly revised, and with this *Introduction* and *Afterword*.

At the time the piece was originally written, the word "genocide" was beginning to be used more frequently by New Afrikan ("black") people in the u.s. But, more often than not, the word was related, in its use, to only one of its manifestations—physical death or brutality of New Afrikan people by our enemies—the rulers of the u.s. empire and their hired guns (the police and military forces) and their semi-clandestine forces (the KKK, Nazis, etc.).

Also, a renewed push to place our struggle on the international level, primarily thru the United Nations, was in effect. In view of the existence of the Convention on Genocide, adopted by the U.N. General Assembly in 1948, many Movement activists and organizations rightly believed that a concerted campaign charging the u.s. with **genocidal tactics in its war against the New Afrikan nation** could and should be initiated....

The title of the piece, as well as its basic outline and content, follows that of the book by William Patterson, *We Charge Genocide*, which is based on a Petition that Patterson and others presented to the U.N. General Assembly in 1951.

In writing *We Still Charge Genocide*, We had the purposes of: 1) giving a wider and more concrete understanding of the concept and practice of genocide, as affecting New Afrikan people; 2) adding impetus to the campaign to place the New Afrikan Independence Movement before the attention of the world; 3) contributing to the greater re-vitalization of the Movement and its ideo theoretical and organizational consolidation.

The 1951 Petition was influenced by a theory and political line which dealt with the NATIONAL OPPRESSION of New Afrikans ("blacks") only superficially. Despite the fact that in several places the Petition implies that New Afrikans were—and are—a NATION, oppressed by the u.s. government—and despite the fact that, taken as a whole, the Petition's facts and argument clearly point to this reality—its fundamental persuasion and conclusion is that New Afrikans were an "oppressed minority of americans," rather than a New Afrikan nation, oppressed and exploited by amerikkka and denied national independence.

Thus, We emphasize that our campaign against "genocide" is nothing more than a significant part of our struggle for NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE. Our activists and organizations fight to raise the mass consciousness of "genocide" as colonial violence, and to involve ever-greater numbers of our people into daily struggles against genocidal conditions (which is to say, against colonialism), because this consciousness and struggle represent

significant steps in the journey toward national independence. We initiate a campaign against genocide not as "amerikkkan citizens 'unequally treated' by the government," but as a New Afrikan nation, denied independence by amerikkka—which is an oppressor nation, which uses genocidal tactics against our escalating People's War.

We also have, in the issuing of this pamphlet, the purpose of stressing the slogan "Combat Genocide." The slogan charging genocide is, on the whole, a first-phase step, essentially agitational. We must move from agitation to greater levels of education and organization, so that the energy We arouse can be channelled into effective tools of liberation, and not left to hang and dissipate for lack of conscious, consistent, systematic and widespread programs of struggle. We must have an active policy, and slogans which are accurate and indicate the direction in which We are moving, and why We are moving in this, and not another, direction. Our slogans must draw the line between the primary and the secondary, the revolutionary and the reformist paths; they must reveal, rather than conceal, the present and future tasks and aims, of the revolution.

It's our belief that, even as We now speak of the re-emergence of the Movement, We also realize that there will be more "ebbs and flows." Therefore, it's necessary to achieve as much as We can from the present period, especially in the way of feeding, raising and consolidating consciousness and organization. Preparing for People's War implies building things which We know will be needed, and doing this building now. Preparing implies that We have some conception of what the future holds, and of what We will need in order to continue to advance, to maintain the momentum while altering the emphasis on various forms of struggle. If We know it's gonna rain, We take our umbrellas as We leave the house. This way, We don't get caught in the storm unprepared and able to do nothing but curse the rain and seek shelter. Preparing implies the creation of "new styles" which will allow us to maintain the offensive under greater repression, to feed on repression rather than simply "lay dead."

The ability to do this will be proportionate to the levels of consciousness and organization of the masses, and the level of their active participation in the struggle on a daily basis. We must feed this consciousness now, create the organization and active involvement with the aid of slogans which won't numb consciousness—slogans and programs which won't prevent the raising and sharpening of contradictions.

We have to understand that the development of class—as well as nationalist-consciousness is much more important for us than for other oppressed nations struggling for independence from capitalist-imperialist oppression. The "black" pseudo-bourgeoisie, while not "fully developed," is firmly attached to the capitalist way. If we wanna believe this isn't so, We only have to check our history and the contemporary scene. Sharpened struggle will inevitably sharpen the contradictions, too, between the masses and those who are incapable and unwilling to break the chains of capitalist existence—even in an independent New Afrika.

". . . Analysis has no value unless it is related to the actual struggle. In outline, the method ological approach We have used has been as follows: first, the position of each group must be defined—to what extent and in what way does each group depend on the colonial regime? Next, We have to see what position they adopt towards the national liberation struggle. Then We have to study their nationalist capacity and lastly, envisaging the post-independence period, their revolution ary capacity." (RIG, p. 59)

And, this is done and tied/applied "to the actual struggle," day-by-day, and the awareness is not kept within the circles of leadership and cadres, but put boldly forward—tho based on our own formula—so as to be grasped and internalized by all those who support the national libera tion struggle, all those who have a strong nationalist capacity, and especially by those who have the strongest revolutionary capacity—the New Afrikan working class.

Build To Win!
5-18-15 ADM

We Still

Charge Genocide

. . . Awareness is essential because it determines your actions. And once you become aware you WILL act. Aware, you could no more refuse to act than to stand in the middle of a railroad track and watch a runaway locomotive bear down on you. You will act, and act in the correct manner, because it is a matter of life and death that you do so....

Comrade-Brother Sundiata Acoli
BREAK DE CHAINS

For nearly 400 years, New Afrikans ("blacks") inside presently recognized u.s. political borders have suffered national oppression and exploitation at the hands of amerikkka. Our national oppression has been maintained through the use of genocidal violence-colonial violence.

Most New Afrikans only associate the word and practice of genocide with Hitler, Jews and gas ovens, while a smaller number also associate the word with the genocidal war waged by the u.s. upon Native Nations ("Indians") as amerikkka stepped up the consolidation of its empire in the late 1800's.

Generally, tho, when We think of the word and practice of genocide—the internationally recognized crime of genocide—We tend to think of millions of people being killed—"at once"— in some far away place . . . in the past. We tend to associate the victims of genocide with people other than ourselves. We tend to regard as criminals and monsters who practice genocide, someone other than those who rule amerikkka, and those who "serve and protect" its interests—amerikkka's armed forces, police, and the KKK and other similar "home guard" forces.

* * * * *

The word "genocide" was first used by a Mr. Rafael Lemkin, who defined it as "physical, political, social, cultural, biological, economic and religious and moral oppression." (WCG, p. 46)

Article II of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on December 9, 1948, states, in relevant part, that "genocide" means any of the following acts, committed with intent to destroy—in whole or in part—a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group, as such:

- a. Killing members of the group;
- b. Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- c. Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;

- d. Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group.

New Afrikan ("black") people inside amerikkka constitute a NATION at war against u.s. imperialism, which manifests itself in the form of colonialism. Imperialism is essentially an extension of capitalist oppression and exploitation on the international level.

Imperialist/colonialist oppression and exploitation are initiated and maintained through violence: the violence used to capture our people, crush the resistance of our people, and to consequently prevent the independent, self-determined development of our people. Colonialism is maintained through a permanent violence, which is manifested not only thru physical forms, such as murder, but also thru "mental" (ideological/psychological, socio-cultural) forms of violence. For this reason, it is important that we keep in mind the fundamental purpose of genocidal violence, and maintain the proper balance between the tactical and strategic slogans we put forward.

* * * * *

Awareness of the meaning of genocide is essential to us—to the NATION of New Afrikan people oppressed by u.s. imperialism. Having a clear understanding of the word and practice of genocide will help determine our actions as we struggle to end our national oppression and build a New Society.

Even to the extent of becoming redundant, it's necessary that we emphasize the fact that genocide is not simply an instance of marching people into crematoriums and "openly declared" konzentration kamps.

Genocide is political oppression. Genocide is economic oppression/exploitation. Genocide is social, cultural, biological, religious and moral oppression. Genocide is committed with the intent to destroy even a part of a national group. In other words, genocide is the political and economic oppression and exploitation of a nation . . . it is the social and cultural oppression of one nation by another nation.

Genocide is not the result of "having a few bad men in office" or the consequence of having a republican as opposed to a democrat sitting in the white house.

Genocide is a conscious, systematic policy practiced by those who rule amerikkka, carried out on all levels by both public and private political, economic, military/police and socio-cultural institutions. Genocide is a manifestation of national oppression and super-exploitation, designed and carried out to inflict political, economic, social, cultural and biological "conditions of life" which have the ultimate aim of preventing resistance to national oppression and successful national liberation revolution.

The 1951 Petition which was presented to the U.N. General Assembly stated the essence of its charge in the following way:

The genocide of which We complain is as much a fact as gravity. The whole world knows of it. The proof is in every day's newspapers, in every one's sight and hearing in these united states. In one form or another, it has been practiced for more than three hundred years.... Its very familiarity disguises its horror. It is a crime so embedded in law, so explained away by specious rationale, so hidden by talk of liberty, that even the conscience of the tender minded is sometimes dulled. Yet the conscience of mankind cannot be beguiled from its duty by the pious phrases and the deadly legal euphemisms with which its perpetrators seek to transform their guilt into high moral purpose....

We shall submit evidence proving "killing members of the group" . . . killings by police, killings by incited gangs, killings at night by masked men, killings always on the basis of "race," killings by the Ku Klux Klan, that organization which is chartered . . . as a semi-official arm of the government....

Our evidence concerns the thousands of (New Afrikans) who over the years have been beaten to death on chain gangs and in the back rooms of sheriff's offices, in the cells of county jails, in precinct police stations and on city streets, who have been framed and murdered by sham legal forms and by a legal bureaucracy....

We shall prove that the object of this genocide, as of all genocide, is the perpetuation of economic and political power by the few through the destruction of political protests by the many.... Its end is to increase the profits and unchallenged control by a reactionary clique. We shall show that those responsible for this crime are . . . the so-called great . . . not the convict, but the robed judge, not the criminal but the police . . . the organized terrorists licensed and approved by the state to incite to a Roman holiday.

We shall offer evidence that this genocide is not plotted in the dark but incited over the radio into the ears of millions, urged in the glare of public forums by senators and governors. It is offered as an article of faith by powerful political organizations . . . and defended by influential newspapers....

Through this and other evidence We shall prove this crime of genocide is the result of a massive conspiracy, more deadly in that it is sometimes "understood" rather than expressed, a part of the mores of the ruling class often concealed by euphemism, but always directed to oppressing the (New Afrikan) people.... This implementation is sufficiently expressed in decision and statute, in depressed wages, in robbing millions of the vote and millions more of the land, and in count less other political and economic facts, as to reveal definitively the existence of a conspiracy backed by reactionary interests in which are meshed all the organs of the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial branches of government.... (WCG, pp. 4-6)

Genocidal Violence Is Colonial Violence

In the years since the 1951 Petition was presented to the U.N. General Assembly, the practice of genocidal violence remains as much a fact as gravity. This violence perpetrated upon New Afrikans is the most blatant manifestation of the permanent and all-encompassing violence imposed upon all oppressed nations by imperialism.

The proof continues to be in everyone's sight and hearing, and in every day's newspapers. But the proof is scattered, sometimes suppressed, always covered and rationalized by euphemism.

In the early colonial period, many acts of individual and collective, localized and widespread resistance by New Afrikans to amerikkkan colonial violence and domination were never reported in the colonial press. Literally thousands of lynchings and maimings of New Afrikans by incited gangs of masked men—semi-official arms of the u.s. government—helping to enforce the supremacy of the settler-colonial imperialist state, were never recorded in history books or lists of "vital statistics."

The system of colonial rule recognizes the importance of preventing the development of "group consciousness" among the colonized, which must inevitably consolidate itself into a revolutionary, nationalist consciousness irreconcilably antagonistic to imperialist domination and capitalist exploitation.

The system of colonial rule recognizes the importance of giving its acts of colonial, genocidal violence the air of "individual misfortune."

During and after Watts, Detroit, and many other New Afrikan rebellions of the 1960's (the "Period of the Rebellions"), those who rule amerikkka recognized the need to keep pictures of burning buildings, armed police and soldiers in their attacks against New Afrikans, off the t.v. screens and out of the pages of the colonial press. It was understood that the more New Afrikans viewing such scenes, the more such scenes would occur.

Censorship was imposed throughout the amerikkkan empire to prevent the development of a mass, nationalist, and revolutionary consciousness among New Afrikans. Those who rule the u.s. imperialist state suppressed all "news" which indicated that the oppression and exploitation of the New Afrikan in New York was the same as that suffered by the New Afrikan in New Orleans.

In 1977 amerikkka, one out of every ten New Afrikan youth were likely to die a violent death before the age of thirty, and 70% of police murders in the city of Chicago were New Afrikans. In 1977 amerikkka, hundreds of New Afrikan people were killed by police and other "guardians of the empire" (KKK/Nazi types) in major cities and backwoods towns, but these murders weren't reported over the network news or in the major colonial press.

Colonial, genocidal violence is embedded in law, explained away by specious rationale, hidden by talk of "democracy," "freedom," and "opportunity"—and its very familiarity disguises its horror!

I'm the victim of violence, and you're the victim of violence. But you've been so victimized by it that you can't recognize it for what it is today.

El Hajj Malik El Shabazz (Malcolm X)
December 12, 1964

We've gone thru the invasion of the Continent, the conquest of traditional nations, the raids on villages. Gone thru the "middle passage" and the "breaking in stations." Gone thru the hundreds of years of lynchings, the slave patrols and the "black laws/black codes," the "fugitive slave laws." Gone thru forced migrations, conscription into the enemy's army to help make the world safe for imperialist plunder. Gone thru "red summers" and "reconstruction." Now, We go thru the "criminal justice system," "reverse discrimination," "urban renewal," closing of hospitals, closing of schools, etc. These modern manifestations of colonial, genocidal violence are, again, committed for the purpose of maintaining political and economic oppression and exploitation, i.e., colonial domination, imperialist/capitalist exploitation.

New Afrikan women, men and increasingly, New Afrikan youth, are subjected to colonial, genocidal violence in the kourtrooms, jails and prisons of amerikkka. The entire "criminal justice system" in the u.s. is clearly recognizable as an instrument in the commission of genocide upon the New Afrikan nation—an instrument in the commission of colonial violence used to suppress resistance and deny national independence and socialist development.

Sufficient agitation and propaganda has been done around this question to not make it essential to provide a wealth of details for the purposes for which this pamphlet is intended. But attention should be drawn to several things.

As this is being written, the trials of the "Pontiac 14" are still underway, and those of the other "Pontiac 30"—the remaining

"Pontiac 16" who face the death penalty—are drawing near. These cases are objectively ones which we would think that all righteous New Afrikan organizations would contribute all available support to, but as of this writing, that has not been the case.

But the fact remains that the danger facing the Pontiac Brothers reflects a danger facing the New Afrikan nation, and a responsibility facing the leadership of the New Afrikan Independence Movement.

Comrade-Brother Sundiata Acoli is now in the federal penitentiary at Marion, Illinois, despite the fact that he has never been convicted of committing a federal crime. In this instance, his situation is similar to that of a growing number of "state" prisoners all over the u.s. being transferred to federal prisons, and also being transferred from the state prisons of one state into the state prisons of other states.

The pamphlet we quoted above, BREAK DE CHAINS, which was written by Sundiata and other members of the B.L.A. (Black Liberation Army), was used as "evidence" by the New Jersey authorities as reason why Sundiata should be in the federal system. The pamphlet is clearly an indictment of the colonial violence and exploitation by the u.s., and an encouragement to heightened consciousness and struggle on the part of New Afrikan people. Thus, when the New Jersey authorities used this document, and when the federal authorities accepted it as a "legitimate" basis upon which to make the transfer, they in fact demonstrated the real "crime" that Sundiata and other Freedom Fighters have been charged with by the u.s.: struggling for the liberation of their people.

The fact that Sundiata and many others are being shuffled throughout the state and federal prison systems in this way is evidence of the disappearance of the heretofore "thin line" which has allegedly separated the powers and responsibilities of the states from those of the federal government. It points up the fact that amerikkka is moving, very literally, to ONE prison system, and that the primary purpose of this system is to manifest colonial/genocidal violence, to suppress struggle for national liberation.

Comrade-Brothers Geronimo Pratt and Richard Dhoruba Moore—as have many other Prisoners of War—filed suits in the federal courts of the u.s., seeking their release, and exposing the program of counter-revolution waged by amerikkka against the New Afrikan and other national liberation struggles.

Such efforts as these are at the present focusing on the f.b.i. COINTELPRO operation. This tendency to focus on the f.b.i. and COINTELPRO seems to have stemmed from the fact that COINTELPRO was the most widely known of the counter-revolutionary programs carried out by the federal and state governments and their police/intelligence arms, including those programs carried out by the u.s. army, the u.s. navy and air force, the postal inspector's office, the internal revenue service, the c.i.a., the a.t.f., and other agencies.

The u.s. has been able to downplay the scope and purpose and effectiveness of its total counter-revolutionary program, whitewash the f.b.i., place the blame for COINTELPRO on j. edgar

hoover, and thus cloud the fact that COINTELPRO was only one program, operated by one agency, and that it was only a part of a much larger program of counter-revolution waged by the entire u.s. government against the New Afrikan and other national liberation struggles and forms of political protest inside the u.s.

The point being made is that We must intensify support for the Pontiac Brothers, Sundiata, Dhoruba and Geronimo and all other Political/Prisoners of War, and We must have more and better coordination of our efforts on this and other fronts of struggle.

. . . Slaves often went mad on the voyages across the ocean. Men, particularly, who often went insane might often be flogged to death or simply clubbed and thrown overboard. Even in moments of clarity slaves had to be watched on board ship lest they commit suicide.

Black Cargoes: A History of the Atlantic Slave Trade

Daniel P. Mannix and Malcolm Cowley

Today's slavery is called neo-colonialism, but the reality is concealed by the words and deeds of the black pseudo-bourgeoisie and the reactionary petty-bourgeoisie, by enemy politicians, the brainwashing of enemy-controlled schools and the mass media, and, by what Comrade-Brother George Jackson called the "mass consumers flea market"—a market brought into existence by imperialist plunder, the domination and exploitation of other nations, and which even the slaves in the seat of empire—themselves a nation oppressed and super-exploited—can enjoy.

The reality is revealed, tho, in the real world, especially the real world of the masses: New Afrikans with no jobs, no education, and being gradually carried to the point of no return on the waves of frustration which arise from our efforts to break the bonds of our oppression.

In present-day amerikkka, New Afrikan women, men and children still go insane, and still commit suicide in "moments of clarity." Amerikkka itself is our "middle passage" today, as We strive toward land and socialism.

Figures for New Afrikan admissions to mental hospitals are on the rise. Statistics show that New Afrikan men are entering u.s. government mental hospitals at twice the rate for North American ("white") men. The highest rate of such admissions are for New Afrikan men between the ages of 34 and 44, and for New Afrikan women between the ages of 35 to 44. Schizophrenia is twice as frequent among New Afrikans as among North Americans. The suicide rate among New Afrikans is also fast on the rise.

Genocidal, colonial violence is committed against us thru being forced to live in disease ridden, structurally unsound housing, thus subjected to accidents, fires, lead poisoning and many other consequences of living in a generally unhealthy environment.

(The contradictions, now being heightened as a result of the international and internal escalation of anti-imperialist

struggles, are manifesting themselves in such ways as "re-location" of industry and housing in major u.s. cities.)

All the conditions from which We suffer as an oppressed nation of people contribute to mental illnesses and physiological abnormalities which manifest genocidal, colonial violence, because these conditions are systematically created and maintained by those who rule amerikkka.

Those hospitals and neighborhood clinics which aren't being closed continue to contribute to the death or physical and/or mental handicap of New Afrikan people by either refusing to admit us or by delaying and/or giving inadequate medical treatment.

Our children are physically and psychologically assaulted in amerikkkan schools. Their minds are crippled, self-confidence is drained from them, they are subjected to massive doses of dehumanization and de-Afrikanization.

New Afrikan children attending enemy-controlled schools are often labeled "hyper-active" or "rebels" and forced to take mind-altering/controlling drugs such as Ritalin and Thorazine. Sometimes these drugs are mixed with school lunches without the knowledge of children or parents.

Drugs have been used against us as a major weapon of colonialism and genocidal violence. Addiction to heroin, methadone, alcohol, barbiturates and amphetamines contribute to the destruction of our families and communities, to lives of prostitution, and generally used as a means of attempting to escape the oppression We suffer in all areas of life in amerikkka.

The high levels of drug use in our communities today are directly related to the willingness of New Afrikan people to struggle against our oppressive condition. After the Period of the Rebel lions (the 1960's) the u.s. government saturated New Afrikan and other oppressed nation communities with drugs. Heroin overdoses have killed tens of thousands of New Afrikan people; many of these deaths were of children under the age of ten. Methadone addictions and deaths now out number heroin addictions and deaths. Thousands of New Afrikan children are born methadone addicts to the thousands of mothers who take methadone and are not detoxified by methadone clinics once they become pregnant.

Malnutrition is one of the results of our deliberate impoverishment and causes a loss of learning time and ability in our children. Malnutrition also contributes to New Afrikan infant deaths, organic brain damage, retarded growth, increased vulnerability to disease, emotional withdrawal, alienation and frustration.

In terms of frequency, hypertension (high blood pressure) is still the highest killer of New Afrikans in amerikkka, and it is primarily caused by "an unconscious attempt at the mastery of the hostility which must be controlled (in the face of colonial violence).... The chronic rage ... produces the hypertension, which initially is fluctuating in character. Eventually, the pathological changes resulting from this overload on the cardiovascular-renal system, lead to a consistently high blood pressure...." (WCG, p. 79)

The rate of hypertension among New Afrikans is twice that of North Americans ("whites"), and at least one out of every four New

Afrikans suffers from hypertension. It is three to twelve times greater among New Afrikans in young adulthood and middle age. Hypertension kills fifteen times as many New Afrikans as North Americans ("whites") between the ages of 15 and 40, seven times more New Afrikan women than North American women of any age group. New Afrikan men between the ages of 35 and 40 are two-and-one-half times more likely to die of hypertension than North American men of the same age. New Afrikan women ages 35 to 44 are three times more likely to die of hypertension than North American women of the same age.

. . . Amerikkka recognized long ago what (New Afrikans) now examine in dis belief: every (New Afrikan) birth in amerikkka is political. With each new birth comes a potential challenge to the existing order. Each new generation brings forth untested militancy.... Amerikkka doesn't know which (New Afrikan) birth is going to be the birth that will overthrow this kountry.

Die, Nigger, Die, p. 1
H. Rap Brown

The new methods of genocidal/colonial violence include "birth control" and sterilization, and are indicated by the high infant and maternal mortality rates among New Afrikan people. Many of us think that for genocide to be effected thru birth control and sterilization, that these means must be "forced" upon us. But We bear witness today that New Afrikan and other nationally oppressed peoples are "intensively encouraged" thru massive propaganda and deceptive statistics to submit to birth control and sterilization programs.

One of the most common of these methods of "intensive encouragement" is manifested thru propaganda around "family planning" and the "unwanted children" of "large" families which are economically unable to provide for them. We are, in such instances, blamed for our own poverty and accused of adding to our own suffering and to the suffering of our families. But it is clear that the contradiction does not center on whether or not to have children, per se. The contradiction centers on the unequal distribution and application of political and economic resources—from the "underdevelopment" of our people, which is caused by our colonial, super-exploited status.

We suffer, based fundamentally on the contradiction between our oppressed nation and the u.s. imperialist state, not only higher infant and maternal mortality rates, but also higher incidences of major diseases such as tuberculosis, pneumonia, influenza, nephritis, nephrosis and syphilis, colitis and diarrhea among our new-born.

New Afrikan infant deaths are twice those of North American infants, and from one-third to one-half of New Afrikan women who deliver in public hospitals have no pre-natal care. The statistics

of the u.s. show that maternal deaths per 1000 live births for North American women are 24.2, while for New Afrikan women the rate was 98.1 per 1000 live births!

In the neo-natal period (the first 28 days of life), North American infant deaths are 16.7 per 1000 live births, while for New Afrikan infants the rate stands at 25.4. During the post-natal period (from 28 days to 11 months), North American infants suffer a mortality rate of 5.5, while for New Afrikan infants the figure is 15.4!

New Afrikan mothers, at the moment of conception, suffer from a host of illnesses that are passed on to their children, which result not only from poor maternal and infant health services, but from the overall oppressive conditions of New Afrikan life in amerikkka.

Over the past 25 years, the cancer rate for New Afrikans has risen 8%, while for North Americans the rate has dropped 3%. Deaths of New Afrikans caused by cancer have increased 26%, and among the greatest causes for these figures are the increased urbanization of New Afrikans, generally, and the labor environment in particular. The growing cancer rate among New Afrikans is intimately job-related. Many New Afrikans work in such industries as steel, auto plants, leather and shoe factories, the apparel industry, mines, and places where asbestos is used. All of these places contain huge amounts of industrial carcinogens—cancer-causing agents.

A connection is clearly drawn between "rniseducation" of New Afrikans and economic oppression and exploitation, because it is the "poorly educated" New Afrikan who ends up in the lowest-paying, dirtiest and most unhealthy job. Thus, a systematically reduced income contributes to the inability of New Afrikans to acquire and maintain decent housing, medical care, food and clothing, and this all reflects the conscious, systematic practice of genocide.

We want to close this section by drawing on two studies made by a North American professor at the University of Illinois, Chicago Circle Campus. Professor Pierre DeVise conducted one study, using u.s. census bureau data, called "Does Chicago Really Work for Everyone?", and came up with the following conclusions:

- real income—adjusted for inflation—of the "typical" Chicago-area North American ("white") family, went up from \$14,760 in 1970, to \$15,720 in 1975. In contrast, New Afrikan income dropped from \$9,380 to \$8,260. North Americans in the Chicago area were earning only 57% more than New Afrikans in 1970, but in 1975, this figure had risen to 90%.
- the number of Chicago-area North American households earning less than 4,000 (in 1975-value dollars) declined from 202,600 in 1970 to 180,800 in 1975, while the number of New Afrikan households

earning less than \$4,000 climbed from 76,900 to 103,600.

-the proportion of income used for mortgage payments by New Afrikan home owners went up from 19% to 21%, compared to a North American increase of only 1%. The proportion of income paid for rent by New Afrikan renters went up from 25% to 28%, compared to a North American increase of only 1%.
-New Afrikan families in the Chicago area earned 64% of what North Americans earned in 1970; by 1975, it was 53%.

Professor deVise also conducted a study on the shift of jobs from the city of Chicago to the surrounding suburbs from 1970 to 1976. He found that Chicago had lost 200,000 jobs, and that most of these losses were in the areas of the city inhabited by New Afrikans, on the city's West and South sides.

An interesting comment made by deVise, in relation to this and other data which showed that the incomes of Chicago residents had dramatically decreased, while those of Chicago suburbanites had risen. According to deVise, Chicago is increasingly becoming a dumping ground for "minorities and the poor" while "the suburbs can be seen as feeding on the spoils of the dying central city."

This statement can be looked at in connection with another made in a Chicago Tribune article reporting on the "depression" experienced by the New Afrikan jobless and the relocation of industries to the suburbs:

"Some blacks are enjoying success in the labor market, but others are being locked out," said William Julius Wilson, author of "The Declining Significance of Race," and a professor of Sociology at the University of Chicago.

Wilson argues that the problems for many unemployed blacks are more than a matter of racial discrimination.

He said there has been a shift from goods-producing industries to service-producing industries here and in other cities. And while the manufacturing jobs often call for strong backs, the service jobs require clerical skills and other types of specialized training.

An increase in automation and technology in the manufacturing industries and their relocation out of the central cities into cheaper labor areas—overseas, the suburbs, and the South—has decreased the number of jobs available for anyone without specialized skills, Wilson said. (*Chicago Tribune*, 2-18-79)

What these statements allude to is, in fact, the relationship between the genocidal/colonial violence and the PURPOSE for such violence—especially in the context of capitalist/imperialist oppression and exploitation. The shift from goods-producing to service-producing industries exemplifies a well-known trend in imperialist expansion, the "re-consolidation" of its capitalist base. It further points up that just as we notice these trends in imperialism on a world-wide scale, they also have their manifestation upon the INTERNALLY COLONIZED nations.

The struggle against genocide is the struggle against COLONIAL violence. The struggle against colonial violence is the struggle for national liberation and socialism.

The convention on genocide constitutes an extension and a means of giving concrete and explicit implementation and interpretation to the U.N. Charter, giving force and effect to the Charter's many pronouncements on human rights and the respect for the fundamental freedoms of all peoples. The convention reduces the proclamations of the U.N. Charter's articles to the status of specific law, which means that, even if the convention on genocide didn't exist, the charge and punishment of the crime of genocide could still be made and sustained under the provisions of the U.N. Charter alone.

When the U.N. Charter was ratified by the U.S. Congress, it became a TREATY, and as such now stands as part of the "supreme law of the land" in the U.S. By having the nature of a treaty, U.S. state and federal laws are superseded by the U.N. Charter and the convention on genocide. This provides the "legal" basis upon which we present our case before the international community, and it prevents the U.S. from raising the claim of our charge being "a domestic matter."

The U.N. was created under the inspiration and control of men and governments who saw it—at the time—as an instrument to be used in maintaining their world dominance. Those who inspired the creation of the U.N. no longer maintain a monopoly of its power, and they have coined the phrase "the tyranny of the majority" to describe the ever-more-successful efforts on the part of Third World nations to secure and exercise due influence in the affairs of the world.

But, while the U.N. is not what it used to be, neither is it what it can or should be. Therefore, "It is politically infantile to argue that another appeal to the U.N. can or will force the United States to become an adherent of the aims, principles and purposes of that international body. Such an appeal can, however, mobilize worldwide action against genocide...." (WCG, p. X)

We must keep in mind that in using the U.N. to mobilize worldwide support for us, we are attempting to mobilize worldwide support against the political, economic and socio-cultural oppression of our NATION—the struggle against genocide is a struggle for the independence of the Republic of New Afrika!

We must truly be our own liberators. We must see the necessity of arousing international action in support of our

struggle by struggling, thru our own actions here inside the u.s. "NO ONE WILL UNDERTAKE TO AID US UNLESS THEY SENSE THE POWER OF OUR MOVEMENT." (BIME, p. 68)

To raise the question of genocidal/colonial violence on an international level and hope to achieve our aims, We must first raise the question, intensify the struggle, inside the u.s.-inside our own nation, the Republic of New Afrika. The slogan charging genocide should be righteously replaced with the slogan to COMBAT GENOCIDE**COMBAT COLONIAL VIOLENCE. We consolidate the energy We raise around this slogan thru a PROGRAM and systematic organization. We then give this program and organization the imprint of the struggle to liberate the nation.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

From One Generation To The Next,

Build To Win
The War
To Free The Land
For Independence In Our Lifetime
9-8-12 ADM/April, 15 ADM

Afterword

COMBAT COLONIAL VIOLENCE: HEIGHTEN THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

...Almost every one of the countries that has gotten independence has devised some kind of socialistic system and this is no accident. This is another reason why I say that you and I here in Amerikkka--who are looking for a job, who are looking for better housing, looking for a better education--before you start trying to be incorporated, or integrated, or disintegrated, into this capitalistic system, should look over there and find out what are the people who have gotten their freedom adopting to provide themselves with better housing and better education and better food and better clothing...I mean what they use to solve the problem is not capitalism. What they are using to solve their problem in Afrika and Asia is not capitalism. So what you and I should do is find out what they are using to get rid of poverty and all the other negative characteristics of a rundown society.

*El Hajj Malik El Shabazz
(Malcolm X)*

FOUNDATION

The charge of genocide, as both slogan and basis of practical struggle, must give way to the COMBAT of genocide. Our historical genocide has been our historical experience with the imperialist expression of colonialism and neo-colonialism. We have experienced genocide as the state of permanent violence of imperialism.

To combat genocide is to struggle for the liberation of the nation. Combating genocide is, like the first contact with the village raiders, the crews of slave ships and the plantation overseers, "the meeting of two forces, opposed to each other by their very nature...marked by violence...carried on by dint of a great array of bayonets and cannons." (Wretched of the Earth [WE], p. 36)

It's clear that colonial violence manifests itself in the form of killing--by police firearm and electric chair. The people can be organized around this aspect of colonial oppression. At certain times, in certain places, this aspect of our historical struggle against colonialism and its genocidal times, in certain places, this aspect of our historical struggle against colonialism and its genocidal tactics can be the major focus of the work of some individuals and groups. It must also be coordinated on a national level. But it's clearly not cool to restrict the Movement's activity to police and prison repression. This is, of course, not to say that we don't develop local and nationally coordinated work around the kamps, the precinct stations and the

kountry and federal kourthouses. It simply says that national, broad activity aimed to combat genocide and liberate the nation must not be narrowed.

The scope of agitation and organization for independence takes into account the fact that the masses suffer national oppression, in every area of life, and the number is small of those who relate directly enough and consistently enough to acts of death by electrocution and the "justifiable homicide" done by the policeman against New Afrikan nationals. Even though **NAPO** (New Afrikan Prisoner Organization-See note at end of essay) itself added its voice to the call for increasing Movement attention to prison and police repression, We emphasized that such attention was appropriate for a particular stage, and at the present time, new conditions exist.

The charge of genocide has served well the purpose of initial agitation, and allowed foundations to be built. But the charge is no longer sufficient. Moving from charging to combating genocide requires program around EACH manifestation of genocide, i.e., each area of life where colonial oppression and exploitation express themselves. Such a program must be able to combine legal with semi-legal and illegal struggle...of formally organized and "unorganized" cadres joining and forming mass organizations, sometimes as a "party member" and sometimes simply as a "concerned citizen" who is guided by a particular ideology and political line, and implements a particular strategy and tactics. If you can pull one person from your family, two people from the building you live in, five people off the block you live on into some form of organized activity, then We are making progress, building to win.

The bloods who teach in the enemy-controlled schools can be persuaded to assign their classes the task of writing research papers on the Black Panther Party, the Black Liberation Army, the Revolutionary Action Movement and the Provisional Government. Movements can be organized in the enemy-controlled schools to open their classrooms, gyms and auditoriums to use by the people at night and on the week-ends. The public schools belong to the public, don't they??? (If those who rule want to tell us that the schools belong to "the state," then this simply allows us to increase the level of our own mass political education, and We begin to call "the state" into question and give the masses explanations through theory and practice of what "the state" really is in capitalist amerikkka. We are oppressed by "capital" and We don't know what "capital" is, and the absence of this knowledge constitutes an obstacle to more advanced struggle. The people have been led to believe that inflation is simply "higher prices" or "meat only once a week.")

The enemy-controlled classrooms can be used to teach the basic tenets of Revolutionary Nationalism and the essentials of National Democratic Revolution. The homes of the masses must become classrooms, too. Young bloods who love sports can be pulled into New Afrikan Athletic Associations, the Bed-Stuy Track Club, and the New Society Youth Center. College students studying "criminal justice" can be taken to the trials of our captured freedom fighters and pulled into local Anti-Repression Committees; they can form Research Groups dealing with the many aspects of

technology, industry and agriculture which are of interest to us as we struggle to free the land and build the new, socialist society.

All this is to say simply that the possibilities for organizing are endless, and the responsibility great. The program for combating genocide also clearly implies realization of who our historical genocide most affects. Andy Young--who, despite occasional manifestations of nationalist sentiment, remains a member and representative of a vacillating and extremely dangerous class--can enter any hospital in the U.S. But what about "Monkey Junior" and the other bloods on the corners and in the discos? The program clearly aims itself toward the masses--the workers, the un- and under-employed, the bloods on general assistance, on the food stamp programs, receiving aid to dependent children, those living hand-to-mouth on social security benefits.

TOWARD A NEW STYLE OF WORK

To begin to build, to begin the implementation of the program, requires cadres and the active, cadre-directed participation of the most revolutionary class and the revolutionary and progressive sectors of all other class forces who can be united around the program of the New Afrikan National Democratic Revolution.

Where, we ask, will we get these cadres and ever-larger numbers of active workers? "There are no people--yet there is a mass of people." As there has always been...

The recruitment and training of cadres, the active participation of the masses of New Afrikan people, led by the conscious and organized New Afrikan working class, represented by its most advanced detachment, becomes a reality through the creative and bold activity of the Revolutionary Nationalist leadership.

"The effectiveness of rallies and mass demonstrations has not come to an end. THEIR PURPOSE HAS DIACRITICALLY ALTERED, but the general tactic remains sound. Today, the rally affords us the opportunity to effect intensive organization of the projects and programs that will form the infrastructure...If the mass rallies close, as they have in the past, with a few speeches and a pamphlet, we can expect no more results than in the past: two hours later the people will be amerikkans again...But going among 'the people' at each gathering with clipboards and pens, and painfully ascertaining what each can contribute to clear-cut, carefully defined political projects, is the distinction between organization and the sterile, stilted attempts" which have heretofore characterized an essentially bourgeois nationalist movement. (Blood In My Eye [BIME], pp. 76-77, Black Classic Press)

For the pseudo-bourgeois and reactionary petty bourgeois "leadership," it has been a struggle to "liberate" themselves from the control of the imperialists, but not a struggle to liberate the nation from the chains of capitalism.

For the progressive lumpen, the revolutionary petty-bourgeoisie, the rural and urban semi-proletariat, and for the New Afrikan working class, it has been an ever-sharpening struggle for

land and socialism -- to liberate the nation from capitalist/imperialism, expressed as colonialism... to liberate the people from the death-grip of capitalist relations of production and exchange.

The struggle to liberate the nation from imperialism is primary. In the process of struggle, the most revolutionary class and its most dependable allies wage armed struggle to defeat the empire, and ideological and practical struggle to "paralyze" the pseudo-bourgeoisie and reactionary petty-bourgeoisie--who have dread fear of genuine national liberation revolution--which uproots, destroys, and prevents any reform of the capitalist system in the newly independent nation.

In the process of struggle to liberate the nation from imperialism--a process which simultaneously prepares for the socialist development of the nation, once it's liberated--the working class and its staunch allies assert their leadership of the struggle. Thus, the representative of the New Afrikan working class--its most advanced detachment--puts forward the ideology of the class, the strategy, line and theory of the class, and intensively organizes projects and programs--clear-cut and carefully defined--which gradually increase the ranks of the Movement, the level and intensity of the struggle, and asserts the leadership of the class--in the struggle of the whole people--and assures victory for the New Afrikan National Democratic Revolution.

So, there are "no people"--yet there is a mass of people, straining in the chains of capitalist-inspired colonialism. How do We agitate among them? How do We educate, organize and mobilize them?

We recognize, on one hand, the present viability and necessity of actions guided by the TAC Method. These, coordinated with rallies and mass demonstrations "of a new type"...initiated according to a diacritically altered purpose.

We stage rallies and demos as moves designed to give us the opportunity to prevent those who attend them from becoming amerikkans again two hours after they leave them. We go among the people at these rallies and demos with clipboards and pens, projects and programs, creative methods of "painfully ascertaining what each can contribute."

We have people at each rally and demo, each meeting held at the schools and churches, to painfully ascertain the skills and interests of each of the persons who attend them. We have the projects and programs--begin to build them--and acquire the technique, which will put these skills to use, involve and develop these interests as powerful weapons to raise consciousness and practice revolution.

We gotta send cadres door-to-door, block-by-block, even if to do nothing--initially--but talk with the people, initiate the process of "social investigation." We associate ourselves with the particular conditions of the people in each locale, and associate them with us, our ideas and aims.

We further develop the styles of the AIB and the FMTM methods, so that they conform to our specific experience and needs. The AIB Method is one where skilled cadres unite small

numbers of active and advanced elements around themselves, and rely on these active and advanced elements to help raise the level of "intermediate" elements, and to win over the "backward" elements.

The FMTM Method is one which moves "from the masses, to the masses," and has two key aspects:

1) Using the FMTM Method is done in recognition of the fact that none of our activities will amount to anything unless they are undertaken with the active participation of our people. "However active the leading group may be, its activity will amount to fruitless effort by a handful of people unless combined with the activity of the masses. On the other hand, if the masses alone are active without a strong leading group to organize their activity properly, such activity cannot be sustained for long, or carried forward in the right direction, or raised to a high level."

Improving the lives of our people underlies our reason for struggling, and our activity must be directed toward the daily concerns of the masses. We must be able to focus our activity on their problems, help them to analyze and understand these problems and to adopt the most appropriate positions toward them--positions which are consistent with the strategic objective. We must be creative in ways designed to render service to the people, to help the people to organize themselves, to learn from them and lead them toward the power with which We must free the land.

2) The FMTM Method also means taking the "scattered and unsystematic" ideas and aspirations of the masses and, through study, investigation and discussions, turn them into concentrated and systematic ideas, aspirations, projects and programs. We "then go to the masses and propagate and explain these ideas until the masses embrace them as their own, hold fast to them and translate them into action, and test the correctness of these ideas in such action. Then once again concentrate ideas from the masses and once again go to the masses so that the ideas are persevered in and carried through. And so on, over and over again in an endless spiral, with the ideas becoming more correct, more vital, and richer each time."

Both of these methods and others are parts of the clear-cut and carefully defined programs which are required so that consciousness can be directed toward the accomplishment of concrete goals; so that We have steadily developing technique and skill in the ability to follow through on our agitation and propaganda, and thereby not leave the aroused energy of the masses hanging in the air and slowly decaying for lack of conscious, planned activity.

We are waging a People's War, and success of the war requires the participation of the masses of our people. Realizing such participation, it goes without saying, is based on the actual conditions of the masses, both materially and psychologically. The trend among many bloods is to curse these conditions and downgrade the masses for lack of initiative in struggling against them. But what would be the need for conscious and skilled, organized detachments which issue from the masses, if there was no need to feed consciousness and initiative?

We have recently had so-called Revolutionary Nationalist cadres say that they cannot serve the people because of the "economic recession" and that therefore "mere survival" is primary at this point for them (the cadres). We cannot understand...

When has "recession" or "depression" or even "minimal" repression not been a common daily factor in the lives of slaves? How can bloods who profess to be servants of the people, "like fish in water," fail to see that their "survival" in fact depends upon transforming slogans into reality--upon transforming the reality of our peoples' oppressive conditions through organization and struggle into the very means of cadres' survival?

If cadres are serving the people, then the people will provide a place to sleep! If cadres are educating and organizing the masses, the masses will provide food and shelter for the cadres! The name of this game is Built To Win! The primary infrastructure is the people themselves, and We begin to build with the people where they are, and follow the course of all development--from lower to higher levels.

We recognize that in order to bring the people to the level of consciousness where they would seize the time, it would be necessary to serve their interests in survival by developing programs which would help them to meet their daily needs. For a long time We have had such programs not only for survival, but for organizational purposes. Now We not only have a breakfast program for school children, We have clothing programs, We have health clinics which provide free medical and dental services, We have programs for prisoners and their families, and We are opening clothing and shoe factories to provide for more of the needs of the community. Most recently We have begun a testing and research program on sickle cell anemia, and We know that 98% of the victims of this disease are black. To fail to combat this disease is to submit to genocide; to battle it is survival.

All these programs satisfy the deep needs of the community but they are not solutions to our problems. This is why We call them survival programs, meaning survival pending revolution. We say that the survival program of the Black Panther Party is like the survival kit of a sailor stranded on a raft. It helps him to sustain himself until he can get completely out of that situation. So the survival programs are not answers or solutions, but they will help us to organize the community around a true analysis and understanding of their situation. When consciousness and understanding is raised to a high level, then the community will seize the time and deliver themselves from the boot of the oppressors.

"There are no people--yet there is a mass of people" implies the need for cadres who are skilled in the ways of learning from the people, and explaining to the people the responsibilities that the people themselves have in the struggle--a people's struggle to free the land and build the New Society.

One of our present weaknesses, too, is lack of cadres who can "distribute the thousand and one minute functions of their organizational work among individual representatives of the most varied classes. Lack of specialization is one of the most serious defects of our technique...The smaller each separate 'operation' in our common cause, the more people we can find capable of carrying out such operations (people who, in the majority of cases, are completely incapable of becoming professional revolutionaries)...In order to unite all these tiny fractions into one whole, in order not to break up the movement while breaking up its functions, and in order to imbue the people who carry out the minute functions with the conviction that their work is necessary and important, without which conviction they will never do the work, it is necessary to have a strong organization of tried revolutionaries. The more secret such an organization is, the stronger and more widespread will be the confidence in the Party...In time of war it is not only of the utmost importance to imbue one's own army with confidence in its strength, but it is important also to convince the enemy and all neutral elements of this strength; friendly neutrality may sometimes decide the issue. If such an organization existed, one built up on a firm theoretical foundation and possessing a revolutionary organ, we should have no reason to fear that the movement might be diverted from its path by the numerous 'outside' elements that are attracted to it...In a word, specialization necessarily presupposes centralization, and in turn imperatively calls for it." (What Is To Be Done? [WITBD], pp. 191-192)

"The inclusion of the masses in politics does not consist in mobilizing three or four times a year, ten thousand or a hundred thousand men and women. These mass meetings and spectacular gatherings are akin to the old tactics...The political education of the masses proposes not to treat the masses as children but to make adults of them." (WE, p. 181)

And this is necessary, because the struggle for land and socialism utilizes "united fronts" with the understanding that there is no such thing as a classless front. Struggle around common interests, and the very phrase "united front" implies the existence of differing interests, represented by differing classes. The question becomes: which class builds and leads the front and the entire struggle which the front is to serve? How will this class build and lead--the front, the struggle, and the newly independent nation?

The "whole people," with the New Afrikan working class and its advanced detachment at their lead, must administer the New Society and create and develop the new economic, political and socio-cultural relations. This creates the necessity for the

unambiguous presentation and definition of the strategic objective, the essence of the aims and process of our struggle for land and socialism, and the righteous ideal of the "classless society."

To become the masters of the New Society, the masters over the land, the masters of production and distribution, the masters over the state machinery, the masses and the working class must become more familiar with the accumulation of capital not simply as theory, but as "a very real and immediate mode of behavior." Educating and organizing New Afrikan people must have as its basic foundation explanation of "the main laws of economics," which must guide the development of the present struggle and inform the creation of new, specific methods of economic development in the future.

To accomplish this task, the development of revolutionary consciousness mustn't be blunted, the development of contradictions mustn't be feared, and the activity We engage in mustn't be narrowed for fear of "alienating the people." It is not the people who fear an end to capitalism, but the pseudo-bourgeoisie and the reactionary petty bourgeoisie.

To those who feel that certain activities shouldn't be engaged in, or that certain words, phrases and concepts shouldn't be raised to the masses due to fear that the people "won't understand," We say that it is the responsibility of those who claim to lead and serve the people to help educate them, to raise their levels of understanding so that We can quickly reach a point at which there is no question as to whether or not the people will "understand."

"Experience proves that the masses understand perfectly the most complicated problems....An isolated individual may obstinately refuse to understand a problem, but the group or the village understands with disconcerting rapidity. It is true that if care is taken to use only a language that is understood by graduates in law and economics, you can easily prove that the masses have to be (protected from words, phrases and concepts that 'they can't relate to'). But if you speak the language of everyday, if you are not obsessed by the perverse desire to spread confusions and to rid yourself of the people, then you will realize that the masses are quick to seize every shade of meaning and to learn all the tricks of the trade...Everything can be explained to the people, on the single condition that you really want them to understand...The more the people understand, the more watchful they become, and the more they come to realize that finally everything depends on them and their salvation lies in their own cohesion, in the true understanding of their interests, and in knowing who their enemies are. The people come to understand that (capitalist) wealth is not the fruit of labor but the result of organized, protected robbery..." (WE, pp. 188-191)

And of course, this pre-supposes the possession and correctness of our ideology, theory and line. Further, it pre-supposes that this ideology, theory and line are clearly formulated, sharp-edged, and grasped by the leadership, cadres, and members of the leading and mass organizations. And, even further, it pre-supposes an accurate appraisal of the general and

particular situations, and the offering of appropriate strategic and tactical slogans which advance the struggle by being grasped by the masses and used by them to transform reality.

The masses are equal to the problems that confront them, but "the future remains a closed book so long as the consciousness of the people remains imperfect, elementary and cloudy."

THE STRUGGLE IS FOR LAND AND SOCIALISM

New Afrikan people in the u.s. are waging revolution, and the conscious and active participants in our revolution must firmly grasp the difference between revolution in general, the revolutions of oppressed nations against capitalist/imperialism in particular, and the New Afrikan Revolution even more particularly, and never lose sight of our ultimate objective.

Revolution as a general category of social struggle can be defined as "the radical, abrupt, and most often violent overthrow of the political and economic forces in control of a particular nation or society." Such a definition can apply to revolutions carried out by progressive forces, or to revolutions carried out by reactionary forces.

The revolutions undertaken by oppressed nations in today's world--generally known as national liberation struggles, or struggles for national independence--accept the principle that violent overthrow of the oppressive forces is absolutely required--although armed actions alone are not the ultimately determining factor in the success of such revolutions. The struggles of oppressed nations against capitalist/imperialism also accepts as a principle that they do not finish "at the moment when the national flag is raised and the national anthem is played."

The reason that such revolutions don't finish at the stage of national independence is due to the fact that they aren't simply "anti-colonial" revolutions, but are also anti-capitalist revolutions. Consequently, national liberation, or national independence revolutions, have two distinct--interrelated stages: 1) the stage of national independence; 2) the stage of building the new, socialist society.

The New Afrikan Independence Movement seeks to realize a revolution of this type, and the New Afrikan Declaration of Independence clearly implies that our revolution has two stages: independence of the nation from u.s. and all other foreign control ("To free black people in amerikkka from oppression"); and, in the process and after completion of this stage, continuation of the revolution, to build socialism ("To end exploitation of human beings by each other or the environment"; "To assure equality of rights for the sexes"; "To end color and class discrimination"; "To place the major means of production and trade in the trust of the state...").

Thus, the ultimate objective of our revolution is not simply the seizure of state power, because the transfer of power over our nation from the u.s. and into our own hands is not the sole guarantee of "the end of exploitation of human beings by each other," and therefore will not represent the consummation of the New Afrikan Revolution.

THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

The first stage of the New Afrikan Revolution--the national liberation/independence stage--is carried on alongside the "democratic revolution," sometimes referred to as the struggle for "democratic rights." The "democratic revolution," or the struggle for "democratic rights" as a categorical form, is clearly distinct from the struggle for national independence and socialism. Nevertheless, the struggle for democratic rights and the struggle for national liberation are interdependent.

The "democratic revolution" simply constitutes, in essence, the key aspect of: arousing the masses, especially the working class; raising nationalist and class consciousness; raising the level of organization; sharpening the contradictions between the nation and the imperialist state--which is why it is called the National Democratic Revolution.

The struggle for "democratic rights" is a struggle to meet the minimum requirements of mass work needed to realize the struggle of the whole people to liberate the nation and begin the second stage of the revolution.

It can even be stated another way: The full and genuine attainment of "democratic rights"--the fulfillment of the "democratic revolution"--for peoples of oppressed nations, is totally unrealizable so long as the nation is dominated by capitalist/imperialism. And, in its struggle to free itself from imperialist domination, the nation uses the struggle for "democratic rights" to arouse and unite all those who are genuinely opposed to imperialism, while also isolating and "paralyzing" all those who are not opposed to imperialism. And this is accomplished through the ideological and organizational leadership of the New Afrikan working class, in alliance with other revolutionary and progressive forces.

The struggle to realize the "democratic revolution" demands that we be aware at all times of the nature of each class force and of the class nature of the "democratic revolution" in general, which is bourgeois in character, and expressed by the fact that inside the nation there are those who are both incapable and unwilling to abandon capitalism, even though they are compelled by the strength of the revolution to feign a nationalist attitude.

This reality is only one of the factors which make it absolutely necessary to develop the independent initiative and organization of the working class, even in the struggle for "democratic rights." Because the struggle to consummate the "democratic revolution"--that is, the struggle to unite the whole people, liberate the nation, and establish a people's democratic government, representing the whole people--necessarily implies political and ideological leadership of one of the class forces which make up the "whole people" and leads the alliance of the various classes.

**THE THREE WEAPONS OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION:
THE PARTY, THE ARMY, THE UNITED FRONT**

The rule of the u.s. cannot be overthrown, and realization of the democratic aspirations of the masses can't be realized, unless the people are led by the working class and its ideology and party. There has never been, nor is there ever likely to be, successful revolution without the correct leadership of a definite class.

The New Afrikan working class is capable of giving revolutionary leadership for both the national democratic and socialist revolutions. this class must become more conscious of its role and responsibilities, and be organized to lead the national democratic revolution; meeting these requirements is the task of the Revolutionary Nationalist leadership.

The Party: is the most advanced segment and the primary instrument of the revolutionary leadership of the New Afrikan working class--the concentrated expression of the ideological and organizational strength of the class.

Without the revolutionary party, there can be no successful completion of the national democratic revolution. The party is responsible for applying the most advanced theory, through its practical leadership, policies and tactics.

The party plants its roots deep among the broad masses during the course of the national democratic revolution, and builds its relationship with them and thus becomes the indestructible core of the entire people, linking them with each other and the working class leadership.

The Army: is the principal weapon of the party. With the army, the party builds its other major weapon, the national united front, composed of all the progressive, nationalist, and revolutionary classes and sectors.

The army and the national united front are like the spear and the shield: each one serves the other. THE FRONT ENSURES THE WIDEST POSSIBLE MASS SUPPORT FOR ARMED STRUGGLE! Armed struggle is the MAJOR weapon for realizing the central task of the national democratic stage of the New Afrikan Revolution.

The main arm of the imperialist state is its armed forces, and the essential character of imperialist domination is its state of permanent violence against our nation. Without an army, the New Afrikan nation is without the means of overcoming the armed power of the enemy, which allows for attainment of genuine independence.

In carrying out the war, the party builds the army as its MAIN form of organization, and THE PARTY'S ABILITY TO BUILD THE ARMY IS THE BEST PROOF OF ITS ABILITY TO LEAD THE STRUGGLE!

The National United Front: must have the revolutionary leadership of the working class and its ideology, and be based on an alliance of this class with all nationalist and progressive forces. At the base of the front, again, is the army, since the genuine united front of the masses and the struggle to realize the national democratic revolution has the purpose of waging the armed struggle, without which success is inconceivable. The purpose of the united front is not simply to "have unity," because the need for unity flows from the requirements needed to WIN THE WAR!

It is through the front that the party also exercises the key function of combining legal and semi-legal struggle with illegal struggle--combining the above-ground and underground activities, and linking otherwise isolated units and activities of the army, at every level. All Power To The People!

From One Generation To The Next,

Build To Win The War To Free the Land
For Independence In Our Lifetime!

May, 15ADM

Note: The New Afrikan Prisoner Organization is not to be confused with the New Afrikan People's Organization. The Prisoner Organization is a forerunner to the Spear & Shield Collective; it existed from 1976 to 1981. The other organization arose in 1983.